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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

Vol. 25 No. 3 JANUARY, 1923 Whole No. 147

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 25. No. 3 JANUARY, 1923 Whole No. 147

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

Remember our subscription drive early in 1923. *We ask* 3 *hours' work. Can you spare it? Write us immediately.*

INTENTIONS

THE Republicans did not try to pass the Dyer Bill. Local political pressure and team work engineered by the N. A. A. C. P., and the extraordinary thoughtful and determined lobbying by James Weldon Johnson forced the bill further than any American, black or white, dreamed. Politicians were surprised when the Bill emerged from the House Committee, and when it passed the House, they were astonished; but they said: "Well it is over now and the 'buck' goes to the Senate." The Senate intended burying it in committee. But the seat of Chairman Knute Nelson became so hot that despite long squirming and excusing, he had to let it be reported. Then the approaching election forced it on the calendar. And finally there was nothing to stop the Bill from becoming a law, but the Southern Democrats and the Southerners picked the Republicans' chestnuts out of the fire, to the great joy of Lodge, Curtis, Watson, and their kind. The Republicans never intended to pass the Dyer Bill, unless they could do so without effort, without a fight, and without appearing publicly to defend the rights of the Negro race.

POWER

FIRST of all, conceive the power of the black man in America when he learns the mere rudiments of using it.

We made a great political party, with a few men who were sincerely our friends, but with a majority who were ashamed of us, who sought to ignore us or were too cowardly to defend us—we forced them up to the very threshhold of doing our will and they rescued themselves only by condoning the collapse of popular government. What a sight for Gods and men!

LOSS

MANY persons, colored and white, are bewailing the "loss" which Negroes have sustained in the defeat of the Dyer Bill. Rot. We are not the ones who need sympathy. They murder our bodies. We keep our souls. The organization most in need of sympathy, is that century-old attempt at government of, by and for the people, which today stands before the world convicted of failure. Alone of civilized countries, it permits mob law, lynching and public burning of human beings at the stake. The State and local governments confess themselves helpless to stop this. A bill is presented in the national Congress to prevent lynching by national law. It was not a perfect bill, but it was an attempt, and a sincere attempt to get at crime; the least that a nation of civilized human beings could do, was to discuss that bill, to improve it, to remove its weaknesses and to strengthen its deficiencies. On the contrary, the Senate of the United States was not even allowed to discuss it. Can one call this our failure? Quite the contrary. It is the failure and the disgrace of the white people of the United States.

GAIN

NEVER before in the history of the United States has the Negro population worked more wholeheartedly and intelligently and efficiently toward one end. They made the Republican party do what the Republicans did not, and do not intend to do. They pushed to the forefront a demand for protective legislation, instead of a demand for petty office. They refused to be beguiled by promises and hand-shakes. They said with unusual unanimity that the Anti-Lynching Bill was the price of their political support. All this is a tremendous gain. In the next two years, the Republican party expects us to forget that they have failed and deceived us; but if we Black voters, male and female, forget what the Republican party did to the Dyer Bill, we deserve disfranchisement now and forever.

TRAITORS

WE have, of course, our traitors within the group. We could not expect otherwise. We are almost as weakly human in this respect, as our white opponents. Perry Howard, a lick-spittle politician whose antics have long amused and pained us, sought to sell us for thirty pieces of silver. He wrote the following letter, November 23rd, 1922, to T. Coleman duPont, defeated candidate for Senator in Delaware, where Negro votes retired Layton who opposed the Dyer Bill:

"I received your letter of Nov. 22 upon my return from the West where I have been almost the entire time since the close of the campaign.

"I confess to you that I have blood in my eyes for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and others who have used them with sinister designs to defeat some of the best friends that we have in particular and the Nation in general.

"The purpose of this letter is to call attention of you and other outstanding statesmen to the fact that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is purely a Negro Democratic organization and has always been found on the side of the Democrats in the final analysis. The organization was used by Bob Nelson and others, and you owe your defeat to no other agency. I corrected the evil in Wilmington and if I could have gone into the Dover neighborhood on the following Monday I could have saved the day, but I had an engagement to fill for Senator Frelinghuysen and you know it was impossible for me to do so.

"Now, I may call attention to the fact that whatever legislation or whatever else is done for the colored people of this country ought certainly to be done and done promptly, but I insist that none of it ought to be done through or by reason of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or any of its sympathizers.

"I therefore think that it should be the policy of the leaders of the party like you to absolutely ignore and give the back of your hand to such men as Nelson, James Weldon Johnson, W. E. B. DuBois, Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh, and others of their ilk. There should be no quarters; and while treating every colored man with fairness and looking well to the interest of our group, these political bolshevists should be annihilated as the basest of ingrates."

(Signed) PERRY W. HOWARD.

Mr. Howard stated that he was sending copies of this letter to Frelinghuysen, McCormick, Watson, Moses, Attorney General Daugherty and Chairman Adams. It is said that copies were also circulated among a number of other influential Republican Senators.

Of course, this letter had no influence whatsoever on the Dyer Bill except to give those Republicans who were determined to defeat it, aid and comfort in their apostasy; and also possibly to confirm the belief in the venality of Negro politicians.

Howard boasts of his close friendship with that professional enemy of the Negro race, Pat Harrison, of Mississippi. It was Harrison who helped defeat the Liberian Loan by giving the Senate "information" that $650,000 of the money was to go to certain colored Americans.

DEMOCRATS

ONCE we hoped that an offer of our support would induce the Democratic party

(a) to curb the Bourbon South;

(b) to work for the human uplift of the black and lowly.

We thought Wilson wanted to, when he wrote to the late Bishop Walters promising us "Justice and not mere grudging justice." After election he called the Bishop to him. "Er—Bishop, what is this I hear about some letter I wrote you during the campaign? I don't seem to recollect its terms."

"I have it right here—right here," answered the Bishop, proudly.

"Yes—yes!" hummed the great war President as he read it and carefully tucked it away in his pocket.

The Bishop never saw the letter again.

Characteristic. In that body of death, the National Democratic party, based as it is on the murdering, lynching South, there is no shadow of hope for the voter, black or white, who seeks justice, liberty and uplift.

Those Republicans who defeated the Dyer Bill, encouraged by the silence and inaction of the President, knew and counted on this. If they had made a corrupt bargain with Underwood, Harrison, Heflin and Caraway—those rotten borough rump politicians masked by the Ku Klux Klan—if they had deliberately made a bargain with them to defeat this just measure by methods of which Turkey would have been ashamed, the result would have been exactly as it has been.

It is doubtful if free government in Western European civilization has descended to such depths as it did in this filibuster of the Democratic party. They did not use argument; they simply, as one journal said, lynched the anti-lynching bill. They brought to the floor of the United States Senate exactly the same methods which the lynchers of Georgia, Louisiana and Texas used at home—brute force. And the Republican party was *particeps criminis* with them. Influential leaders among them wanted the Democrats to filibuster; they prayed they would filibuster; they asked them to filibuster and agreed to help them. They argued:

"What can the 'niggers' do *but* vote for us. Can they vote for the Democrats after this?"

No, we cannot.

THIRD PARTIES

WE are not the only group in America for which the Republican and Democratic parties spell anathema and death. The trend toward a Third Party is irresistible. It may take years but it must come; and when it comes, it means the death of the political power of the disfranchising South, for until this is accomplished, no Third Party can survive. Our duty is clear. And in order to systematize and concentrate our votes, we must, early in 1924, assemble in National Political Congress—a Congress duly representative of every locality, to decide on methods, ways and means.

In local elections we can continue to cast our vote regardless of party labels. Vote for friends and defeat our enemies, be they Republicans, Democrats or Socialists. Let us stand by Tammany in New York and Thompson in Chicago as long as they stand by us, and as long as snobs like James W. Wadsworth and Medill McCormick and cowards like Ernst betray us.

Of all the Republican Senators only eleven deserve our support, so far as we are at present informed:

Shortridge	Phipps
New	Capper
Pepper	McNary
Reed, of Pa.	Edge
Gooding	Willis

Is not the way then clear and simple? Can any Negro voter in the future support the Democratic or Republican party in national elections without writing himself down an ass?

LYNCHING

THE fight against lynching is just begun. This is no time for a hint of discouragement or hesitation. American Negroes have had little experience in winning group fights. Usually they have lost and consequently their enemies depend on seeing them fly after the first defeat. This time, they are going to be disappointed. The time to fight is not when you are victorious but when you are repulsed. The time to gird yourself for putting down lynching is when the Dyer Bill is defeated by thugs, and not when politicians are making gay promises. This is going to be a long fight and it is going to be a costly fight, but we are going to win; and the reason that we must win is because lynching and mob violence has got to go or civilization in the United States cannot survive.

As Senator New has written us:

"The effort to suppress lynching will be like that to suppress slavery and to accomplish every other great result that has been undertaken in this country since the establishment of the Republic—a matter of long delays, repeated failures and ultimate success."

And Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, adds:

"The rules of the Senate must be changed so that a minority can no longer balk the will of the people. I shall continue to favor the Dyer Bill until it is finally adopted."

Unless then the States immediately and stringently end this shameful custom, the United States is going to pass an Anti-Lynching Bill. The next Congress is going to see an Anti-Lynching Bill similar to the Dyer Bill introduced and pushed by the united votes of all lovers of justice and decency.

COST

THERE are certain simple souls among us who seem to imagine that the emancipation of the colored people of the United States is going to cost about $1.98, and that anything more than this is evidence of theft. These people should contemplate this single fact:

On November 22nd and 23rd, the N. A. A. C. P. spent $5,136.93 for the following advertisements in the greatest daily papers of the country:

		Circulation	Cost, one insertion
New York *Times*			
Nov. 23	Full page	327,216	$1,539.20
Chicago *Daily News*			
Nov. 22	7 columns	412,304	1,387.75
Atlanta *Constitution*			
Nov. 22	7 columns	109,787	379.26
Kansas City *Journal*			
Nov. 24	½ page	40,266	258.72
Kansas City *Star*			
Nov. 23	½ page	439,374	532.00
San Antonio *Express*			
Nov. 22	½ page	30,536	168.00
Washington *Star*			
Nov. 23	Full page	92,555	488.00
Cleveland *Plain Dealer*,			
Nov. 22	½ page	181,756	384.00
New York *World*			
Dec. 4	1 page	360,080	1,344.00
		1,993,883	$6,480.93

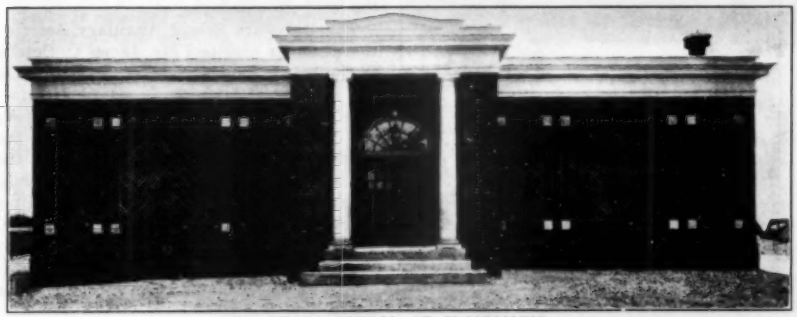
In this way, on one single day, they made five million intelligent Americans think about lynching. We reached the unreached: white people who knew and cared little about lynching. Was it worth it? We ought to have spent ten times that amount and we shall, if possible, spend that next year. Advertising is costly. Propaganda depends on advertising as well as other costly methods. What every great cause—the Red Cross, Jewish Charities, the Knights of Columbus, the Hospitals—what all white folk must do to get the r cause before the public, we black folk cannot afford to neglect. All Americans do not understand about lynching. Few Americans dream of our daily life of insult, cruelty and discouragement. If we do not let them know, who will? *Who will?* We must advertise, we must agitate, we must, as Jehovah told Isaiah, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgression."

There is no royal road to publicity. It costs money and much money. We need to advertise as never before in the daily press, in the weekly press, white and colored, in monthly peri-

odicals. We need lecturers and organizers of first-class ability, paid first-class wage. Now is the time to pour money into the Anti-Lynching Campaign—now or never.

PRIZE STORY CONTEST

OUR readers are reminded of the $50. prize story contest now being conducted by THE CRISIS at the request of the Delta Omega Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Sorority of Southeast Virginia. The headquarters of this chapter are at Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, and not at Virginia Union University as erroneously stated. Details of the contest appeared in the December CRISIS and will be mailed to inquirers.



NEW NEGRO SCHOOL AT CLAYMOUNT

THE PIERRE DU PONT SCHOOLS

IN the summer of 1918, when the war had awakened a new civic consciousness in the minds of the greater number of citizens, a group of Delaware men and women who were deeply interested in the development of their state founded an organization called "The Service Citizens of Delaware," the purpose of which was "to work for the improvement of social conditions in the State of Delaware."

Mr. Pierre S. duPont, the president of the Service Citizens, created a trust fund to yield an income of $90,000 a year for a specified number of years to carry on this work, and Dr. Joseph H. Odell was chosen director.

As a result of several reports on public education in which Delaware was ranked very low, the Service Citizens became interested in the improvement of educational conditions. An illustrated survey of rural schools was made by experts from Columbia University and distributed widely throughout the State. This survey revealed such deplorable conditions that Mr. P. S. duPont, then vice-president of the State Board of Education, founded a new trust fund, the income from which, amounting to $2,000,000, was to be used in the erection of new school buildings for Delaware. Of this amount, 20 per cent was specifically set aside for the rebuilding of colored schools, and a few months later an additional gift of $500,000 was made by Mr. duPont for Negro schools. From time to time the original trust fund has been supplemented, until approximately $4,000,000 will be available in income for the improvement of the public school system of Delaware.

A special Educational Committee of five was appointed from the Service Citizens to administer this fund, and on July 28, 1919, the Delaware School Auxiliary Association was incorporated.

In the first few months of its existence, the Association spent a great deal of its time in conference with the state and local boards of education in an endeavor to formulate a building program. The problem was doubly difficult because of the separate schools for white and colored children. It

OLD SCHOOL HOUSES
AT UNION, JOHN WESLEY, LEWES AND
LAUREL

was first decided to erect schools at strategic points in order to have examples of the best school architecture constantly before the people. In the white districts the taxpayers were expected to raise specified amounts by bonding, while the balance of the cost of the school was to be supplied by the Delaware School Auxiliary Association. In the colored districts the sites were to be acquired, schools erected and equipped by the Auxiliary Association and turned over to the State Board of Education without cost to the local communities.

The Delaware School Auxiliary Association chose as architect Mr. James O. Betelle of Guilbert & Betelle, Newark, N. J., because of his special training in school architecture, and a book on "Standards and Plans for School Buildings and Grounds in the State of Delaware" was prepared for the State Board of Education. With this work as a basis typical plans for one, two, three and four room schools were drawn and approved by the State Board of Education, in order that there might be some standardization of school construction throughout the State.

A typical one room school has a seating capacity of 40 pupils; has austral windows, the light entering only from one side; the net glass area is 20 per cent of the floor space; the ceiling is 12 feet high; the class room is 23x32 feet, giving 18 feet of floor space to each pupil; the building is heated and ventilated by a jacketed heater; the building contains cloak rooms and inside toilets; the cost of construction, including site and equipment, is $6,000. In order to assure adequate playground space, two acres of ground were adopted as a minimum for a one room building, three for a two room building, and so forth.

A survey of the colored children in the State was made and maps prepared showing the centers of Negro population, in order that the school houses might be properly located.

The Delaware School Auxiliary developed its own building organization which operates from the central office and is proving very economical by the elimination of contractors' profits and the cost of bonding.

Up to the present time the School Auxiliary has constructed for Negro children 51 schools, comprising 93 rooms and accommodating 3,680 pupils, at a cost of $706,000. It has under construction 26 schools of 49

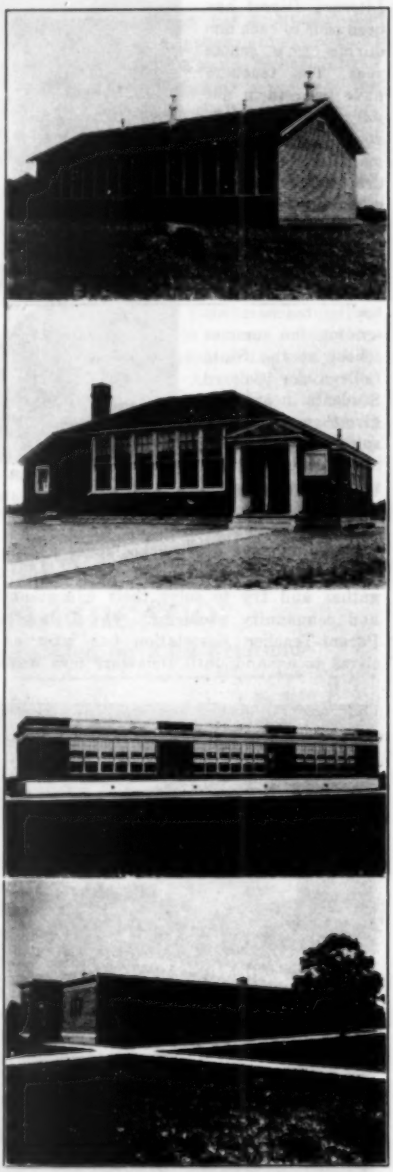
rooms, pupil capacity 1,880, cost approximately $215,000. When these are completed, practically all the Negro schools in the State will be rebuilt, less than a dozen remaining where it seems impossible to secure suitable sites.

The Dover Colored School, now under construction, will be the largest in the State, accommodating 280 pupils, with seven class rooms, a principal's room, a sewing room, a lunch room and an auditorium. The class rooms are grouped around the auditorium which is equipped with a stage, curtain and moving picture machine, and will seat 500 people. The Dover School was planned with the hope that it would not only be used for class room work, but that it might also become a community center and a convention hall for the Negro people of the State.

After the physical rebuilding of the schools, attendance is the greatest problem in Delaware. It would be useless to erect modern buildings unless the children will take advantage of them. The Delaware School Auxiliary has, therefore, made a careful study of attendance and absence in the rural schools, together with the causes of absence, in an effort to discover why children do not attend school regularly. In the near future Dr. Richard Watson Cooper, Director of the Bureau of Education of the Service Citizens, will publish a book on "Non-attendance of Colored Children in the Public Schools of Delaware," which will undoubtedly be of great service in solving one of the greatest problems of the Negro in Delaware.

To encourage better attendance the Delaware School Auxiliary Association for two years has been conducting a campaign, offering each month to the children cards for perfect and good attendance during the month. The first year these cards were an historical series, and last year, the Delaware birds and flowers. The coming year it is planned to give buttons on which are to be sketches of Delaware industries. To the school rooms making a certain average of attendance Delaware State flags were given the first year, pictures of nature studies last year, and this year books will be given for the school library. The average number of days attended per pupil increased from 90 in 1918-19 to 134 in 1920-21.

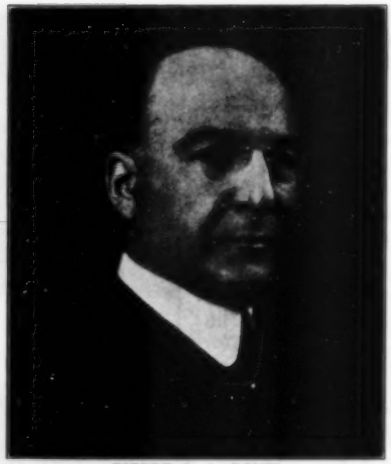
As an incentive to the teachers to keep alive their interest in world affairs, the



NEW SCHOOL HOUSES
AT UNION, JOHN WESLEY, LEWES, AND LAUREL

Literary Digest has been sent to each one during the school year. The teachers have used them not only in the class rooms, but also in community current events classes and in other similar ways.

Lectures and entertainments have also been given by the Service Citizens to the teachers attending the summer school at the State College for Colored Students in order to give them a little inspiration and uplift beyond their regular training and studies.



PIERRE S. du PONT*

*Not to be confounded with nor in any way connected with T. Coleman du Pont, a man of quite different character.

It has also been the desire of the Service Citizens to make every schoolhouse a community center, where the people might gather and try to solve their educational and community problems. The Delaware Parent-Teacher Association has been assisted to expand until Delaware now leads every State in the Union in community organization with 230 associations, of which 62 are colored. The office of the State Association furnishes each month to the local associations a leaflet which contains several possible programs for the meetings. This is later followed by a pictorial booklet which illustrates the subject to be discussed and is supplied in sufficient numbers to be distributed to every person present. Last year "The Modern School" was the general subject and was treated in six topics:

1. The School Library
2. Medical Inspection and Follow Up Work in the School
3. Health Teaching in the School
4. The New Course of Study

INTERIOR OF NEW NEGRO SCHOOL AT MARSHALLTON

5. Our Teachers—How to Get Good Ones and Keep Them
6. Recreation for the Neighborhood.

The majority of the colored associations are fortunate in having new schools in which to meet, and their activities have included purchasing victrolas and pianos for the schools; furnishing hot lunches to the children; buying playground equipment; starting or supplementing school libraries; beautifying the school buildings and grounds; purchasing sewing machines and equipment for industrial work; and planting school gardens.

The Service Citizens also aided community organization of a slightly different type in giving for two years the salary of a field secretary for the Delaware Negro Civic League, which had local branches throughout the State.

The State College for Colored Students is the only school of high school grade for Negro students outside of the city of Wilmington. Several surveys revealed the deplorable conditions in the institution because of insufficient appropriations from the Legislature. The Delaware School Auxiliary Association offered its services to the trustees, first auditing the books and placing the finances on a business basis, and then remodelling the physical equipment. A sewerage system was completed; an addition to the girls' dormitory was built; bath and sanitary facilities were added to both girls' and boys' dormitories; the interiors of buildings were painted and renovated and an adequate water supply furnished. In addition new furniture for the buildings was donated from a private source. A two room brick school was erected on the campus by the Delaware School Auxiliary Association to be used as a practice school.

The trustees have modified the courses of study and inaugurated a standard State high school. It is their hope that this institution may serve as the colored high school for rural Delaware and later develop into an industrial college similar to Hampton or Tuskegee.

"THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO"

The Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL

"THE Negro in Chicago, a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot," is the title of a valuable publication recently issued from the University of Chicago Press. This book of nearly seven hundred pages is the report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, a commission composed of twelve members, six representing the white people and six representing the Negro people, appointed by Governor Frank O. Lowden after the Chicago Riot of 1919.

Three times in recent years the State of Illinois has experienced violent race rioting: At Springfield in 1908, at East St. Louis in 1917, in Chicago in 1919. Had the people of the State learned anything from the first of these outbreaks of racial antagonism it is probable that the second and third would not have happened. Certain it is that the third could not have happened had the lessons of the first and second been heeded. Having learned little from these three outbreaks, it is not surprising that Chicago, whose Negro population, by the way, increased from 44,103 in 1910, to 109,594 in 1920, an increase of 148.5 per cent, furnished the scene for the terrible riot of the summer of 1919.

Extending over a period of thirteen days and resulting in a casualty list of 38 deaths —15 whites and 23 Negroes; 537 injured, 178 whites and 342 Negroes, with 17 whose race was not recorded; and a damage to property amounting to many millions of dollars, the Chicago Riot of 1919 was regarded by many citizens and civic organizations as "merely a symptom of serious and profound disorders lying beneath the surface of race relations in Chicago". Governor Lowden's Commission therefore set itself to the "study and interpretation of the conditions of Negro Life in Chicago and of the relation between the two races". The Commission called to its assistance a staff of trained investigators recruited "from social workers of both races whose training fitted them for intelligent handling of research and field work along the lines mapped

out by the Commission". The Commission divided itself into six committees on the following subjects: Racial Clashes, Housing, Industry, Crimes, Racial Contacts and Public Opinion.

In these fields the Commission's work was done along two main lines: (1) A series of conferences at which persons believed to have special information and experience relating to these subjects were invited to give the Commission the benefit of their knowledge and opinions. (2) Research and field work by the trained staff of investigators, both white and Negro, to determine as accurately as possible, from first-hand evidence, the actual conditions in these particular fields. The findings of these conferences and investigations comprise the bulk of the published report and the whole may be taken as fairly typical of the conditions existing in many another city in the United States.

The findings of the Commission show that where the Negro citizens have been provided decent housing, where educational institutions have been open fully and freely to them, where recreational centers and other cultural facilities have been provided for them without limitations or restrictions or intimidation, where they have been given the chance to earn a decent living in such lines of employment as they have been qualified to fill, where labor unions and other organizations have been open to them on such terms and under such qualifications as are applied to other citizens—in short, wherever and whenever given an equal chance along with others, the Negro citizens have proven a valuable asset to the city's population.

As a matter of fact, the Report clearly shows that in practically none of these fields have the Negroes as a whole been given anything like a decent chance. They have been herded into congested, unsanitary, unwholesome, undesirable residential areas. Because of small incomes they have been compelled to live in the least expensive places regardless of surroundings. They have therefore been unable to protest effectively against the encroachments of vice districts—such encroachments often having the sanction of city officials. Because of the hostility of white residents, such hostility showing itself in bombings of property and such-like violence, many of the Negroes who have ventured to move into more desirable residential areas have suffered in great damage to property and in many instances even loss of life. In many cases they have been discouraged if not altogether prohibited from participation in the advantages offered by those educational and cultural and recreational institutions which are supposed to be open to all citizens alike—regardless of race or color. They have been confined in large measure to domestic and menial service and refused employment in many fields for which they were well fitted both by ability and by training. They have been denied admission by many labor unions solely because of their race and color.

Recognizing the place of public opinion in the question of race relations, the Commission made a study of the Chicago newspapers and their attitude toward the Negro race. From the study of the white press it is clear to the Commission that "the policies of many of the newspapers on racial matters have made relations more difficult, at times fostering new antagonisms and even precipitating riots by inflaming the white public against Negroes".

While the Commission finds no ready remedy for settling the race problem, it holds that the "problem must be solved in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation and with its free institutions". It holds that "mutual understanding and sympathy between the races will be followed by harmony and co-operation. But these can come completely only after the disappearance of prejudice. Thus the remedy is necessarily slow; and it is all the more important that the civic conscience of the community should be aroused".

The Report closes with a series of fifty-nine recommendations:

(a) To the Police, Militia, State's Attorney and Courts—suggesting equal protection and full justice for whites and blacks alike.

(b) To the City Council and Administrative Boards, the Park Boards and the Municipal Bureau of Parks, Play Grounds and Bathing Beaches—suggesting proper housing and sanitation and the full provision and equal use of recreational centers alike for blacks and whites.

(c) To the Board of Education—asking for adequate school facilities and full use of same by whites and blacks alike; the strict enforcement of the compulsory education laws for all children; the exercise of special care in appointing principals and teachers who have a sympathetic and intelligent interest in promoting good race relations in the schools and who will en-

courage "participation of both races in student activities as a means of promoting mutual understanding and good relations in such schools and in the community".

(d) To Social and Civic Organizations, Labor Unions and Churches—advising that they endeavor "to dispel the false notions of each race about the other and promote mutual tolerance and friendliness between them"

(e) To the Public—urging abstinence from force or violence in race relations; commending "race contacts in cultural and co-operative efforts as tending strongly to mutual understanding and the promotion of good race relations"; and suggesting a permanent race-relations body representing both races.

(f) To Employers and Labor Organizations—urging that employers "deal with Negroes as workmen on the same plane as white workers" and that labor unions "admit Negroes to full membership whenever they apply for it and possess the qualifications required of white workers".

(g) To Negro Workers—advising membership in unions which admit both races equally rather than in separate Negro labor unions; and urging thorough preparation for participation in skilled trades.

(h) To Street Car Companies—urging that conductors and motormen be especially instructed concerning protection of passengers, white and Negro, and that they be rigidly held to the discharge of this duty.

(i) To Restaurants, Theatres, Stores and Other Places of Public Accommodation—urging that owners, managers and employees accord the same treatment to Negro patrons as to white patrons.

(j) To the Press—urging the publication of such news and in such form as will tend to dispel prejudice and promote mutual respect and good-will between the two races.

This Report is a valuable addition to our all too meagre worth-while literature on the Negro Problem. As such it deserves a wide reading.

THE CHURCHES AND RACIAL PEACE[1]

GEORGE E. HAYNES

THE faith of the leaders of the Federal Council that the churches would join in a sound, constructive plan to apply the principles of brotherhood and justice to race relations and that ways and means would be supplied for enlisting the forces of the churches to this great end, has been amply justified during the past twelve months. The churches of our land, as the special agencies for promoting the gospel of brotherhood, are facing their great responsibility and challenge in this field whenever the information and call can be effectively set before them. They are responding with constructive action in their local communities in all parts of the country by studying their conditions, planning programs of interracial activities for better housing, better schools, better health, law enforcement, justice in the courts, improving the attitude of the public through the press, and by similar efforts for Negro welfare and the improvement of relations between the races.

At the last annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council this Commission had only been in existence five months. At that time a tentative budget of $10,000 was approved with the proviso that new sources of funds be found for the work. Although the Commission was without funds, such approval from the Federal Council gave encouragement to the officers and leaders of the movement, and at the January meeting, 1922, they elected two secretaries, Dr. George E. Haynes and Dr. Will W. Alexander, to the executive tasks of the work.

During the succeeding ten months the activities of the Commission have touched upon important lines of work and met with encouraging responses. The work may be summarized as follows:

Local Conferences of White and Negro Leaders

About 45 such conferences have been held or attended by the secretaries, at special request, in such places as Atlanta, Ga.; Raleigh, N. C.; Nashville, Tenn.; Cincinnati, Dayton and Cleveland, Ohio; Indianapolis, Ind.; St. Louis, Mo.; Chicago, Ill. Less formal meetings and interviews have been held in many localities for giving counsel, information and assistance in the planning of programs to meet problems in the respective localities. These conferences have been far-reaching and important. Very recently the secretary of one of the leading Church Federations in the North said: "I regard this question of the relation of the races in my city as the most vital problem before us. I am, therefore, undertaking a careful study of the matter to lay plans for the next

[1] From the forthcoming report of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council.

ten years in our work; this question will be the foremost one in our program."

Development of Interracial Committees

During the year, in addition to affiliation with committees already formed under the Commission of Interracial Co-operation, this Commission has assisted in the formation of interracial committees in Dayton and Youngstown, Ohio; Washington, D. C., and St. Louis, Mo. These committees each have mapped out definite pieces of work and begun their activities. For example, in Washington, D. C., activities have been started without any funds. They have formed a committee on each of the following subjects: race relations information in the public school; race relations literature in the public libraries and the circulation of such literature among those interested; employment, particularly of colored people, in domestic service (an important question in Washington); and the observance of a Courtesy Week each year which will emphasize particularly courteous behavior in contacts between the races.

Assistance in Local Surveys of Negro Life

One of the secretaries of the Commission assisted in the preliminary organization of local survey plans through the Pittsburgh Council of Churches, the Dayton Federation of Churches and the Dayton Bureau of Community Service. During the past summer the Dayton survey was made by a joint committee representing twenty church and social agencies. This survey was accomplished under the leadership of the Dayton Bureau of Community Service. "In addition to a study of housing, health, recreation, wages, unemployment, delinquents, labor turnover, and retardation of school children, about 900 family schedules were secured. These schedules are now being tabulated and the information will be available in the near future." A permanent interracial committee, representing all the church and social agencies whose work affects the Negro life of the city, is in process of formation.

Counsel and assistance on special problems have been given in Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Toledo, Chicago, Atlanta, and other places.

Furnishing Information on Negro Life

This work has grown rapidly through requests from ministers, leaders of mission study classes, missionary societies, young people's organizations, graduates and students of colleges and universities, writers, etc. In co-operation with the Research Department of the Commission on Social Service there has been built up a collection of information for use in this connection. Leaflet material on special topics is also in preparation. Supplies of literature on various phases of the question have been sent to many inquirers and many inquiries have been answered by special letters.

Supply Material to Newspapers and Magazines

Five special magazine articles have been prepared, and more than a score of newspaper articles on Negro life and race relations were widely published in both the religious and secular press, much of it without designation of its source. Special attention has been given to publicity against the lynching evil.

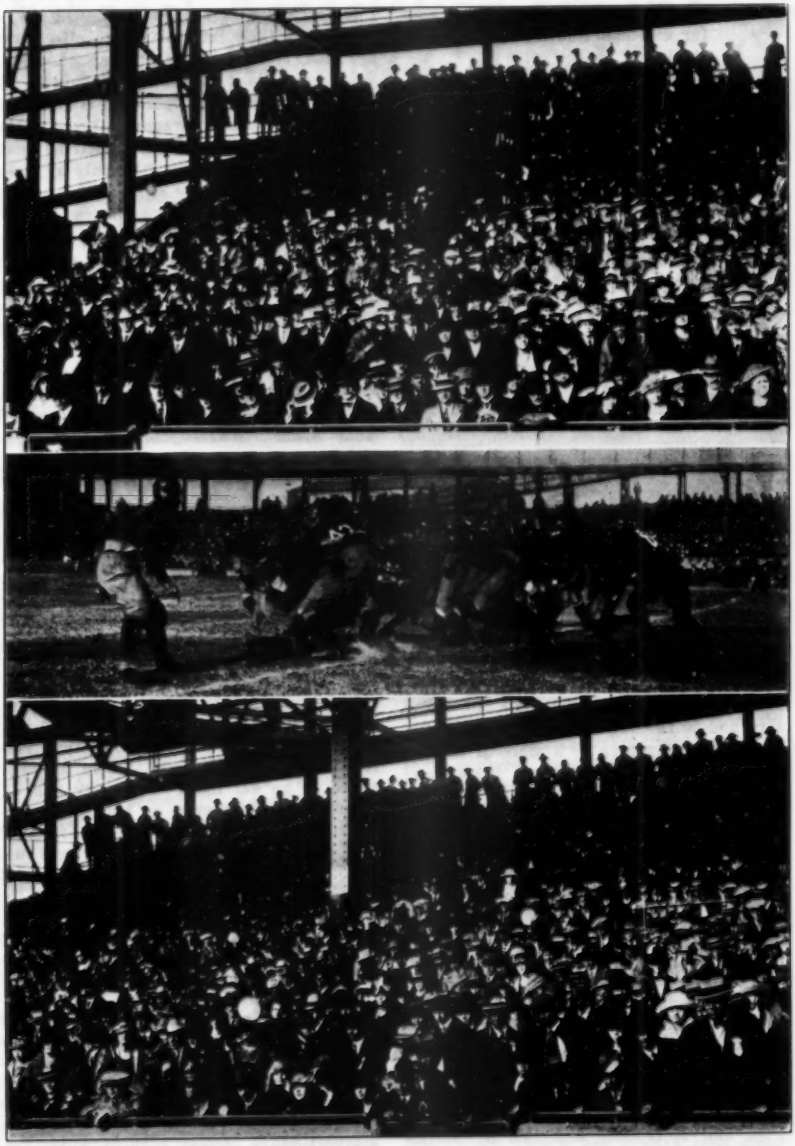
The Commission assisted in preparing the release issued by the Federal Council against the secret and oathbound organizations that stir up racial, class and religious prejudice. This pronouncement was widely quoted in the press throughout the country, a number of newspapers giving extensive editorial comment. The *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany said: "Decent men will not mask themselves to override the law, and masked gangs of scoundrels have no footing anywhere. No one can possibly have suspected the churches of supporting the Ku Klux Klan; at the same time, the action of the Federal Council is one of the best blows ever struck at an intolerable nuisance."

"The Trend of the Races," a book which has had the unusual circulation of 60,000 copies in the first five months of its publication, promoted by the Missionary Education Movement and Council of Women for Home Missions, was written by one of the secretaries of this Commission, and has in this way co-operated in an important educational effort for better interracial understanding.

Next Steps

In addition to the continuance of the work which has brought the results outlined above, the following steps will be undertaken during 1923:

1. A nation-wide campaign to marshal the churches against the lynching evil
2. An educational campaign to interest



THE HOWARD-LINCOLN FOOTBALL GAME

white and Negro churches in co-operating to secure better provision for neglected and dependent Negro children

3. The information and advice service will be expanded and the service to the press enlarged.

The secretaries of the Commission are now being called upon by more church and denominational organizations for counsel, information, and service than the limited resources, time, and energy at their command can supply. They are finding that in many localities there is a nucleus of men and women, white and colored, who believe that the gospel of brotherly goodwill is the solution of their interracial difficulties and are ready to undertake a program of action. We need to recognize that this gospel of racial goodwill and co-operation is now face to face with widely organized propaganda and efforts based upon the doctrine that race relations are to be settled only by force and violence. In many communities, where work has been started, these forces are active. Churchmen and Christian organizations need to bestir themselves as never before to overcome these evils with good.

FOOTBALL, 1923

E. B. HENDERSON,

Physical Director, Dunbar High School, Washington

THE best trained teams of all colored players met in combat with the elevens of the east. Wilberforce in Philadelphia lost to Lincoln, 13 to 12. West Virginia Collegiate Institute on their home grounds defeated Lincoln, 19 to 15. From the far South, Morehouse, representative of the best in that section, lost to Union University. Union also defeated V. N. and V., and lost to Hampton.

Hampton Institute claims the championship and is favored by most critics. Defeated by Petersburg by a score of 12 to 6 early in the season, the team braced and ended with the scalps of Shaw, Howard, Lincoln and Union dangling from her belt. Of the big Thanksgiving battles, the Howard and Lincoln affray in Washington drew the spot light. With seeming odds against them, the Howard team astonished its supporters by uncovering a slashing attack and variety of play that all but scored victory, the margin of defeat being one point. Lincoln's eleven with well timed passes, long end runs, and sterling defense, offset the ground gaining onslaught of her opponent.

The Talladega team was strong but had many men injured. Edwards remained the star fullback, and Spencer led the backfield. Talladega beat Tuskegee and was beaten by Fisk and Morehouse and tied by Morris Brown.

Fisk, with Tubby Johnson as star halfback, lost to Tennessee Normal and Atlanta and won over Talladega, Knoxville and Tuskegee.

Larger crowds attended the games this year than ever before. And in Southern communities often the white people were in the majority. Many of them were greatly impressed with the playing of and conduct at the game. The educational feature of this mingling of races is no small factor in better race relationship. To my knowledge during this season no colored institutions found it desirable or necessary to use men of another race as officials in order to secure impartiality and ability. This last relic of serfdom and belief in the color white as an ear mark of honesty and efficiency is gone forever, we hope. A splendid corps of good officials is being developed and as soon as one or two schools use coaching mentors whose ideals are not smothered by the one lone aim—win the game—the number of games of riotous climax or forfeited decisions will be reduced to nothing. Newspapers are adding life to their pages by the weekly rehearsals of these contests.

Most teams are being coached by men of high calibre. There are yet left a few coaches whose qualifications are based solely upon their past successful playing on the gridiron, but the great majority of men are good sports; good enough to gracefully acknowledge a defeat without alibis, excuses, and criticisms of the officials. In all, the 1922 season established a high water mark in the annals of the game.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

COLORED VOTES

COLORED voters achieved in the elections on November 7 the most significant victory of recent years. In Delaware, New Jersey, Wisconsin and other States opponents of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill were defeated and their defeat was due directly to Negro votes.

When the Dyer Bill was being debated in the House of Representatives in January, notice was served on members of Congress that all who voted against it would be held accountable by Negro voters when those Congressmen stood for re-election. In a number of cases these statements were apparently laughed at. But some of those who laughed have found that the threat was not an idle one.

Delaware's sole Representative in the Lower House of Congress, Dr. Caleb R. Layton, voted against the Dyer Bill. It is reported by reliable sources Dr. Layton boasted that his vote against the Dyer Bill was the proudest act of his life. When the Delaware State Republican Convention was held in August, colored men and women in Delaware served notice upon the leaders of the Republican Party that they would not support Caleb R. Layton for re election. Despite their protest Dr. Layton was renominated and the three colored members of the State Republican Committee were dropped because of their opposition to Representative Layton. One of these, Charles H. Colbourn, had been a member of the Committee for eighteen years.

When, figuratively speaking, Mr. Layton had been rammed down the throats of the colored voters, a determined campaign against him was launched. Meetings were held in all parts of the State; an anti-Layton League was formed, more than 20,000 pieces of literature were printed and distributed urging colored people to defeat Mr. Layton. Among the persons prominent in this campaign was Mrs. Alice Dunbar-Nelson, an untiring, brave and fearless fighter. As a result of the efforts of Mrs. Nelson and her co-workers, working through the Wilmington Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., the Anti-Lynching Crusaders of Delaware, and the Independent Citizens' Voters League, 12,000 Negro voters qualified and lined up solidly against Mr. Layton.

Public meetings were held at Wilmington against Mr. Layton, at which time James Weldon Johnson, Ferdinand Q. Morton, Walter F. White, William Pickens, Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, Robert W. Bagnall, and others, urged Negro voters to defeat Congressman Layton. Questionable tactics and newspaper propaganda were used extensively to discredit these efforts during the latter part of the campaign but in spite of them the colored voters stood fast.

The Republican majority in the State, according to the 1922 registration figures, was approximately 7,000. Congressman Layton in 1920 received a majority of 11,936. In the elections of November 7, 1922, Mr. Layton was defeated by a vote of between six and seven thousand, a difference which is just about equal to the loss of colored votes, which were cast for Judge Boyce, the Democratic candidate. Not only did colored voters defeat Mr. Layton but Senator T. Coleman duPont, against whom they harbored resentment because of his refusal to heed their protest against the renomination of Mr. Layton, was also defeated by approximately 600 votes.

In similar fashion a campaign was waged against Congressman R. Wayne Parker of the 9th Congressional District of New Jersey, who was the sole Congressman from that State to vote against the Dyer Bill. In spite of influential support, Congressman Parker was also defeated. According to the vote cast in the primaries, there were in the 9th District, 11,816 Republican votes and 6,709 Democratic. The colored vote in this district was between four and six thousand. It held the balance of power and as a result Mr. Parker was beaten by Daniel F. Minahan, his Democratic opponent whose record has always been clean on his treatment of the colored men and who publicly pledged his support to the Dyer Bill.

The third Congressman to go down in defeat (in this case in the primaries) was Patrick H. Kelley, of the 6th Congressional District of Michigan. Mr. Kelley, also backed by influential financial and political interests, sought the Republican nomination for Senator. He, too, was defeated by Negro votes.

In Wisconsin, W. H. Stafford of the 5th District who voted against the Dyer Bill, also in the House of Representatives, went to defeat at the hands of the colored voters, according to a report made to the National Office by Mr. George H. DeReef of Milwaukee, President of the Milwaukee Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. Mr. Stafford was "the only non-Socialist of Milwaukee County, with the exception of a few legislators, to be defeated. The Republican Party swept the State and county but Stafford was defeated and the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. helped to do it."

The Milwaukee Branch printed and distributed thousands of leaflets giving the facts about lynching and pointing out that Congressman Stafford had made excuses for his vote but none of them were valid ones so far as colored voters were concerned. Meetings were held and speakers presented the facts at churches, dances and all public gatherings of colored people. On election day the entire colored vote was gotten out by personal efforts of members of the branch with the result that Victor L. Berger, Socialist opponent of Stafford, won by nearly 4,000 votes.

On the other hand, Congressman L. C. Dyer, father of the anti-lynching measure bearing his name, was re-elected by a comfortable margin. His district is largely made up of colored voters.

The N. A. A. C. P. in all these campaigns stressed repeatedly and forcefully the fact that colored voters were faced with one fundamental issue and that was the attitude of candidates on the question of anti-lynching legislation. Emphasis was laid on the fact that colored voters did not attempt to dictate to office holders how they should vote on any given measure, even on so vital an issue as anti-lynching legislation, but when men elected to office voted against this measure in which colored voters are so deeply interested, these men no longer represented truly their Negro constituents and could not, therefore, expect to receive the support of colored voters. These voters were urged by the N. A. A. C. P. to consider men and measures and to ignore meaningless party lines. The N. A. A. C. P. is making preparations for the Presidential election for 1924 when still further action will be taken towards the rewarding of friends and of the punishing of enemies by the colored vote. The N. A. A. C. P. feels that the above results indicate the new attitude of tremendous importance to colored voters and it feels that these splendid results mark a long step forward in the political emancipation of colored voters.

In four pivotal States the Negro holds the balance of power. In four others he very nearly holds it, and, in a close election, can decide the issue in those States. In others he holds considerable power on Congressional districts and other political subdivisions. In view of the great reduction of the Republican majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives at the recent elections, there is a considerable possibility and probability that the Negro vote may, in 1924, decide the Presidential elections and the political complexion of the next Congress.

The Dyer Bill is now before the Senate. It is the one clear cut issue on which colored men and women can unite. It is the most decisive issue ever presented to the colored voter—not even excluding the Civil Rights Act of 1875. These same voters are watching closely every word that comes from Washington during the Dyer Bill debate. 1924 is but a short way off and the colored voter is determined that, regardless of party affiliations, he will defeat those who fail him now, and reward those who do not fail.

THE DYER BILL

IN addition to resolutions endorsing the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill passed by the Republican State Conventions in Indiana, Colorado, Ohio, West Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, California and Missouri, and by Democratic State Conventions in New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts, the Kansas State Republican Convention, through the activity of James H. Guy, of Topeka, adopted unanimously as a part of their State platform the following resolution:

"We commend the Kansas delegation in the national Congress for undivided and untiring efforts in support of the Dyer

Anti-Lynching Bill and recommend the continuation of their efforts for its enactment into law."

And through the efforts of W. P. H. Freeman, President of the Providence Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., the following plank was included in the platform adopted by the Rhode Island State Republican Convention:

"We favor the speedy enactment into law by the United States Senate of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, which has for its object the abolition of mob violence and lynchings throughout the country, and which guarantees to all persons accused of crime the right of a fair, impartial trial by judge and jury in court."

* * *

WITH James Weldon Johnson in Washington directing the campaign for its enactment, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill entered upon a critical phase in the second week of the special session of Congress. The Bill encountered a solid opposition from the Southern Democrats in the Senate, who threatened to hold up the entire business of the country unless the Republicans withdrew the measure. The Southern Democratic leader, Senator Underwood of Alabama, delivered himself of a defiant ultimatum in which he said:

I now inform you that this bill is not going to become a law at this session of Congress.

In accordance with this ultimatum the Democrats steadily talked during the first two weeks of the special session, preventing even discussion or debate upon the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in the Senate, and devoting the time of the Senate to discussion as to whether the chaplain's prayer was to be printed in the *Congressional Record*.

In response to the obstructionist tactics of the Democratic minority in the Senate and the failure of President Harding to mention the Dyer Bill in his address to the Short Session, the N. A. A. C. P. went before the country with full page and half-page advertisements inserted in leading daily newspapers throughout the country and paid for in part by the Anti-Lynching Crusaders.

Branches in every State where it was felt pressure on a Senator would help, were telegraphed to do their utmost in flooding the Senate with telegrams. Mr. Johnson, after days of conference in Washington, having persuaded Republican leaders to take up the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill before the Ship Subsidy measure, finally telegraphed President Harding and twelve Republican leaders, warning them that a failure to stand firm on the Dyer Bill would be interpreted as an abandonment of colored citizens by the Republican Party. Mr. Johnson's telegrams, sent at the most critical moment of the Bill in the Senate, read as follows:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the name of its 454 branches in 43 States and on behalf of the colored people of the whole country, urges upon the Republican Party not to yield to or compromise with the filibuster of the Southern Democrats on the Anti-Lynching Bill. We urge Republican leaders to meet the challenge of the minority and defy it to stop the business of the Government, believing public opinion will so rally to their support as to break the present intolerable situation. Abandonment of the Dyer Bill upon the terms laid down by Southern Democrats would have incalculable effect civilly and politically on the colored people of the whole country. The colored people feel that the Anti-Lynching Bill, involving as it does the fundamental rights of safety of life, security of property, trial by due process of law when accused of crime and the good name of the nation, is the most vitally important measure before the Senate and should be fought through by the Republican Party with determination, and that the party will do so, if it is sincerely interested in the measure. They feel that to abandon the measure for confirmations or even to pass a ship subsidy bill would be to abandon them, and such abandonment, they could not be expected to overlook or excuse.

As a final resort, when reports were coming from Washington that the Dyer Bill might be dropped by collusion between the Republicans and Democrats, the Association again proceeded to release a full page advertisement for publication in the New York *World* of December 4.

In the final fight to force the Dyer Bill through the Senate, the Association received strong editorial support from the New York *Evening Post* and the New York *Globe*, and of many influential newspapers throughout the country.

Despite newspaper reports that the Republicans had surrendered to the Democratic filibuster, Mr. Johnson remained in Washington, fighting to the last ditch to prevent that surrender from taking place.

The filibuster by Southern Democrats was successful in securing temporary abandonment by the Republican majority of the Dyer Bill. The fight is by no means lost and the N. A. A. C. P. is determined to carry it through until lynching and mob violence are eliminated from American life.

THE Y. M. C. A. AND THE NEGRO

THE 41st International Convention of the Y. M. C. A. convened in Atlantic City during November. In one of the main addresses the Rev. Mr. Harry D. Fosdick, of New York City, said:

Christ preached against racial prejudice. He spoke against it on the day when He went back to Nazareth and preached His first sermon in His own home town church. But today we let the foreground fill up with things that do not matter. The Bible talks good biology when it says that we are all made of one blood. One of the fundamental issues is human brotherhood in Christ regardless of race or creed.

Bishop Jones, of the M. E. Church, represented the colored people and spoke at one of the evening sessions. The report of the commission on the occupation of the field recommended in its original form, "that the work of the Colored Department be extended as thoroughly and rapidly as feasible." This was amended so that the final recommendation is, "that the work of the Colored Department be thoroughly and rapidly extended, especially in the cities of the North, where there is a rapidly growing population, and in those portions of the South where the colored race constitutes the predominating factor of the rural world."

Two colored men, Dr. R. R. Moton and Bishop Jones, were appointed del gate and alternate, respectively, on the Committee of 33. This committee is entrusted with making plans for the coming constitutional convention. The colored delegates thought this was inadequate representation for the colored race and the convention authorized the Committee of 33 to give the Negroes increased representation on the committee in case it found the present representation insufficient. Dr. J. E. Moorland spoke concerning the colored men's work and its need. Four white men joined in appeals for more field secretaries for the colored branch. These were Messrs. A. M. Trawick, of South Carolina; O. E. Brown and W. B. Weatherford, of Nashville, and W. J. Schieffelin, of New York. One of the speakers said:

We have the responsibility of all men and boys, irrespective of color. It is impossible for the white men to do the work for the colored men,—we must work with them. The colored man is not on trial; it is the white man who is on trial today.

The convention voted to increase the number of secretaries in the Colored Department of the International Committee by at least four. Resolutions were passed, thanking Mr. Julius Rosenwald for his generous gifts; emphasizing belief in prohibition; favoring sweeping reductions in the armaments of all nations and a warless world; thanking those who provided music, "particularly the Fisk Jubilee Singers"; and stating, "We believe that the spirit of Christian brotherliness can remove every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed and race."

About sixty colored delegates attended the convention and one colored man, Bishop R. E. Jones, was unanimously elected one of the vice-presidents of the convention.

We are indebted to Mr. William Stevenson, of the 12th Street Branch, Washington, D. C., for notes upon which this report is based.

THE U. N. I. A.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WHAT are the facts concerning the membership and finances of the Universal Negro Improvement Association under the leadership of Marcus Garvey?

We do not know and we have asked in vain for information, stating as we still insist, that a public organization claiming to represent the Negro race, collecting monies not only from its own membership but broadcast, owes a regular and specific accounting to the public.

We must therefore depend: 1st, on the published report of 1921 and its analysis made first by W. A. Domingo in the *Cru-*

sader and afterwards corrected in minor details in our own office. 2nd, on the suppressed report of 1922, ordered printed by the Congress but not yet issued. This report we now print for the first time.

Mr. Garvey's claims of membership for the U. N. I. A. have been untrue and even fantastic. In the CRISIS articles of December, 1920, and January, 1921, we were unable to say how widespread the Garvey movement was, but, believing then part of its published assertions, assumed that it had less than 300,000 paid-up members. Since that, Mr. Garvey has reiterated his statements as to the large membership of his association. At Port Antonio, Jamaica, April 4th, 1921, he claimed "an active membership of four million scattered the world over." In a letter in the Kingston, Jamaica, *Daily Gleaner*, March 26th, 1921, he wrote: "There are two million members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in the United States." The only chance for checking these statements up until now, has been furnished by the reports of officials at his second annual conference. W. B. Yearwood, the Assistant Secretary General, says there were, August 1st, 1921, 418 chartered Divisions and in addition to these there were 422 not yet chartered; but he made no statement as to the number of members.

W. A. Domingo in the *Crusader* for October, 1921, called attention to the report of the Chancellor and auditor. According to this report, which covers the period from September 1st, 1920, to July 30th, 1921, the sum of $19,562.80 was paid in as "death tax." Mr. Domingo says that this death tax is a tax of ten cents per month per member remitted by the branches to the parent body. As the report covers eleven months, this shows a paid-up membership of 17,784 persons.

Another method of estimating the membership is from the dues received from the branches. These dues, according to a statement from Mr. Garvey, are thirty-five cents a month, or four dollars and twenty cents a year. Four-fifths of the dues remain with the branches and one-fifth is remitted to the parent body. This one-fifth for the eleven months, September 1st, 1920, to July 30th, 1921, amounted to $7,471.26, indicating a total amount collected for dues from the membership of $37,356.30. If we divide this sum by eleven months dues, we have 9,703 paid-up members. The secretary reports that the greatest number of dues paid in any one month was in June, 1921, indicating 15,262 members as a maximum. From these figures it seems certain that the membership of this movement was considerably less than 100,000 nominal members in 1921, and somewhere between ten and twenty thousand active members.

The second annual convention was held in New York, August, 1921. Mr. Garvey announced: "50,000 delegates will participate." Noah D. Thompson, one of the delegates, asserted that there were less than 300 accredited delegates in attendance and that most of those were from New York.

The third convention met in New York in August, 1922. Mr. Garvey promised "the greatest event in the history of the Negro race—100,000 deputies and delegates to take part, representatives coming from Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia, South and Central America, Canada, United States, and the West Indies."

A record of balloting by delegates showed less than 200 delegates present including the New York delegates. The financial reports submitted were ordered printed by these delegates and we take pleasure in obeying their wishes:

Universal Negro Improvement Association
Financial Report—Year ending July 31st, 1922

Receipts	General Funds
Balance in Bank Aug. 1st, 1921	$10,913.67
Membership Fees	3,662.03
Sales of supplies to Branches	10,328.59
Death Tax	28,723.30
20% dues from Branches	14,722.59
Convention Funds	10,484.21
Sale of Almanacs and Pictures, etc	3,522.75
Assessment Tax	20,543.17
Fees for Charters	5,192.05
Contributions (voluntary)	34,165.25
Loans (Schedule)	6,987.50
Refunds	592.52
Redeposit checks	3,247.18
Exchange checks	580.71
General Check (Schedule)	10,254.49
	$163,920.01
Construction Loan Notes	23,713.53
	$187,633.54
Disbursements	
Light and Heat	$ 879.06
Telephone, telegraph and cables	2,553.23
Postage and expressage	4,512.30
Minor repairs	351.98
Furniture and Fixtures	1,368.55
Salaries of officers	43,394.56
Salaries of employees	39,929.90
Salaries of men in Liberia	2,678.50
Salaries of B. S. L. Band	1,678.68
Travelling Expenses	8,735.72
Printing	11,263.88
Stationery and Office Supplies	2,141.22
Loans	1,668.00
Death benefits	4,439.64
Real Estate and Mortgages	25,384.75
Pay't to B. S. L. lease 54-56	3,000.00
Advance to B. S. L. a/c lease	3,668.98

Pay't to N. Y. Local a/c purchase N. World	1,300.00
General	17,192.38
	$175,129.63
Construction Notes Rec'd.	10,962.68
Interest on same	828.85
	$186,921.16
Receipts	$187,633.54
Disbursements	186,921.16
Balance	$712.38

From this report it appears that death taxes of $28,723.30 were paid this year, representing payments on $68,664.80 due and unpaid last year and the payments for this year. This indicates less than 21,000 paid up members, only a part of whom belong to this year. Twenty percent of the membership dues amount to $14,722.59, indicating a membership of 17,500. We may conclude therefore that the U. N. I. A. has at present less than 18,000 active members.

This membership has paid in as dues, taxes and fees, $72,843.14. In addition to this, it has paid $13,851.34 in supplies, a total of $86,694.48, or nearly $5 per member. In addition to this these members and other persons have given and loaned to the organization during the y ar, $62,600.64; this makes total cash receipts of $149,292.12. We are not including among these receipts construction loan notes given but not yet paid. This money is reported to have been expended as follows:

Office expenses	$ 11,796.64	6.5 per cent.
Salaries	86,678.64	51.0 per cent.
Loans and Interest	33,721.73	20.0 per cent.
Printing and Travelling	21,299.60	12.5 per cent.
Unspecified General Exp.	17,192.38	10.0 per cent.
Total	$170,688.99	

By counting in their loan notes and other bookkeeping items, the association reports a balance of $712.38.

A balance sheet, condensed from the original, gives the following figures:

Resources	
Cash, in various Funds	$ 20,881.24
Furniture and Fixtures	6,335.35
Machinery	23,963.42
Real Estate	18,400.00
Stock in Black Star Line & Factories Inc.	37,460.00
Good Will in Negro World	60,000.00
Accts. Receivable, principally from Branches	93,707.83
Notes Receivable	13,628.94
Inventory	4,222.55
Leases and Deposits	7,118.98
Total	$285,718.31
Liabilities	
Notes Payable	$184,177.47
Mortgages Payable	5,500.44
Loans and Accounts Payable	37,050.48
Salaries and Death Claims	34,141.99
Total	$260,870.38

THE "BARRIER"

(White Womanhood Speaks)

RUTH R. PEARSON

CAN it be here they meant that we should find it,
Solid, unyielding, flung across our way?

Here, at this high place, there is only brightness!
I can see farther than I saw before:
Smoke in the valley—pines against the sky—
And little dreams curled close on every hand.
This strange, new land
Is full of beauty and of tenderness.

(Yet some have talked of bruises
And of stones.
The sudden radiance must have found them blind.)

Day calls us, and the road where we have met
Winds on, and up. Together we will follow
Toward some far, hidden shrine.

* * *

Light!
Only light—and your warm hand on mine.

The Horizon

COMPILED BY MADELINE G ALLISON.

¶ Crown Prince Raz Tarafy is the present heir to the throne of King Menelik, of Abyssinia, and will reign after the death of the Queen Dowager.

REGENT RAZ TARAFY AND WIFE, OF ABYSSINIA

¶ Julietta Harris, of California, is the winner of 3 championships in the first annual Pacific Coast tournament, held under the auspices of the Western Federation of Tennis Clubs. She holds ladies' championships in singles, doubles and mixed doubles, winning the 3 without losing a set. She will compete for the national championship at the tournament of the American Tennis Association of New York, which will be held in Chicago this summer. Miss Harris is 15 years old and a student at the Manual Arts High School in Los Angeles.

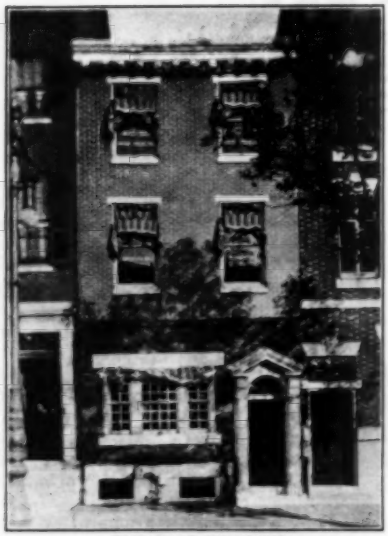
MISS JULIETTA HARRIS

¶ Ruth Wright of Philadelphia, Pa., was graduated last June from the Newton School at the age of 11, being the youngest graduate and ranking first in scholarship in a class of 36. It was her complaint about the description of "The Black Race" in the Geography Primer used in the Philadelphia Public Schools which caused the change of over 30,000 text books in the city system. A new description written by her father, Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr. has been substituted in Corman & Gerson's Geography Primer, with a picture of Dunbar instead of an African savage. Ruth was 7 years old at that time. These geographies are now used generally not only in Philadelphia, but in other cities.

¶ The 32nd annual Tuskegee Negro Conference convenes at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, January 17-18.

¶ The American Mutual Savings Bank in Louisville, Ky., is an outgrowth of the Mammoth Life Insurance Company, the Mutual Savings & Realty Association, and the Mammoth Realty Company. It began business in February of last year with an authorized capital of $100,000 and a surplus of $25,000. The combined resources of these enterprises amount to over a half-million dollars. The officers are Messrs. W. H.

MISS RUTH WRIGHT



THE GALE BUILDING

Wright, president; H. E. Hall, secretary; J. O. Blanton, treasurer; W. E. Johnson, cashier; C. T. Christian, auditor. The bank was constructed by a colored architect, Mr. Samuel P. Cato, and its equipment includes a fire and burglar proof vault, with 2 batteries of safety deposit boxes.

¶ The Beresford Gale Corporation are investment brokers and promoters of legitimate enterprises, especially for the advancement of colored people. The corporation does an annual business of approximately $100,000, and employs 20 people in its offices and nearly 100 salesmen in the field. Mr. Beresford Gale is president of the corporation, which has headquarters in the Gale Building in Philadelphia, Pa.

¶ In Chicago, Ill., Mr. W. B. Lawhorn has established "The Sweet Shop," as a $10,000 enterprise. It is located on Indiana Avenue and 31st Street. The shop includes a tea-room of blue and ivory with a wicker fountain in the center, and exquisite silver service. Mr. Lawhorn, who has had 14 years' experience in the catering business, serves first quality home-cooked foods and candies.

¶ In Florida, the Jacksonville Mercantile Corporation, Inc., has a 3 story brick structure, covering a lot 150 by 50 feet. It is a business capitalized at $50,000, with Messrs. F. J. Torington and U. L. Walden as president and secretary. A report says: "During our first 9 months in active business our records show total sales of $41,390.77."

¶ St. Jude's Chapel in New York City is a five-story building of concrete and stucco, costing $150,000. It is all paid for and was consecrated last May by Bishop Manning. St. Jude's was formerly a chapel of the New York P. E. City Mission Society. It was taken over by St. Michael's Church two years ago and the Rev. Floarda Howard, who founded the Chapel, became a clergy man of St. Michael's staff and vicar of St. Jude's Chapel. The building consists of a chapel which seats 350, guild-rooms which can be converted into an auditorium, a gymnasium, a day nursery, the minister's apartment, and a roof garden.

¶ Many who have visited the beautiful marble capitol of the State of New York, in Albany, know of Harriet Alfarata Chapman. She passed through the grammar and high schools of the city, took a course at the Albany Business College, and was ap-

ST. JUDE'S CHAPEL

THE SWEET SHOP, CHICAGO, ILL.
THE JACKSONVILLE, FLA., MERCANTILE CORPORATION, INC.
THE AMERICAN MUTUAL SAVINGS BANK, LOUISVILLE, KY.

MRS. THOMPSON SERGT. PENN DR. MARTIN ALEXANDER KING

pointed stenographer in the Educational Department of the State of New York. Later she became head stenographer in the Catalogue Department, and in these two positions she spent a life time of 30 years work. She resigned in 1921 and married Mr. J. W. Thompson, of Rochester, N. Y. Melvil Dewey said when he heard of her death: "Your wife was a woman of unusual ability and character, who always commanded my utmost respect and confidence, and was one of the best stenographers and most loyal asssistants I ever had."

¶ Commissary Sergeant William H. Penn had a father and two uncles killed in the Civil War. He was born in 1863 in Baltimore, Md., and enlisted in the army before his 17th birthday. He served in the famous 9th Cavalry and held for many years the position of ranking sergeant of the 3rd Squadron. During his nearly 29 years of service he fought in the Indian Wars, in Cuba, in the Philippines, in the Samoa Islands, and elsewhere. He was retired February 14, 1908.

¶ Modern medicine is depending more and more upon the searching eye of the X-ray for diagnosis. Dr. James L. Martin is one of the few colored X-ray experts. He was born in Virginia in 1882 and graduated from the Medical Department of Shaw. After practising 10 years he went into the Fort Des Moines Training Camp and was commissioned a First Lieutenant in the Medical Corps. He saw duty in France, was wounded, and promoted to a Captaincy. After returning he began post-graduate work in Freedmen's Hospital, specializing in X-ray and internal medicine, and then entering the Graduate School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. He is still specializing there in Internal Medicine and Roentgenology, being assigned to the Polyclinic Hospital, one of the allied hospitals of the University. He is also head of the X-ray department of Mercy Hospital, a colored institution.

¶ One of the busiest Post Office branches in New York City is College Station, on 140th Street. The superintendent of that station is a colored man, Alexander King. He was born in Petersburg, Va., in 1875, and has lived in New York City since he was five years of age. In 1892 he entered the Post Office as junior clerk at a salary of $500. Roosevelt appointed him Assistant Superintendent in 1907 and he was stationed in the Wall Street branch, where he served for 10 years with an unvarying average of 100 per cent in his rating. Woodrow Wilson reduced Mr. King to a bookkeeper and then to a clerk; but without a reduction in salary. On April 1, 1922, under the new Administration, he was promoted to Assistant Superintendent and assigned to College Station; on July 1 he was made superintendent. His station is in the heart of the colored section of New York City and third among the stations of the city in postal savings, with over 9,000 depositors. Mr. King is a member and trustee of St. Mark's Church.

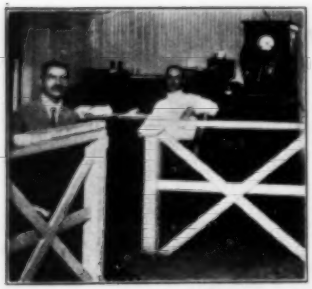
MR. BURKETT MR. MOSS LT. CHILDS MRS. WILLIAMS

¶ Hugh M. Burkett, who recently died of apoplexy in Baltimore, Md., was a successful real estate man. He was born in Baltimore 47 years ago, and educated in the public schools and at Lincoln. Afterward he took the law course at Howard. He was a wideawake dealer in real estate, and left a comfortable fortune.

¶ The death of John A. Moss marks the end of an era. He was a slave who became a lawyer. He was born in Virginia and sold to a slave trader at the age of 15. He ran away, was captured, but escaped again to the District of Columbia. He was at the Battle of Gettysburg, serving Captain Vanderburg of the 5th U. S. Cavalry, and afterward became a general helper in the Botanical Gardens in Washington. Through Charles Sumner he got work in the Congressional Library and while working there read law and afterward graduated from Howard, in 1873. Frederick Douglass recommended him to the position of Justice of the Peace, which he held under President Hays for 4 years, and was reappointed by Presidents Garfield and Cleveland. For 48 years he practised law in the District of Columbia and was the oldest colored lawyer in the State.

¶ The Childs family of Alabama has given the race some notable members. William F. Childs was appointed to the Police Department of Chicago in December, 1896; he was made a sergeant on April 7, 1905, serving for seven and one-half years. He passed the examination for Lieutenant in 1911, but white men were continually promoted over him, the authorities saying that if he were promoted they did not know where to assign him. However, October 7, 1912, he was made a Lieutenant of Police and assigned to the Bureau of Identification. Afterward the assistant to the Captain was put in charge of the Bureau, with Lieutenant Childs working under him, although his salary was larger than that of the assistant. In all sorts of ways he was slighted and kept from further advancement but, nevertheless, his splendid character and undoubted efficiency compelled recognition. After a service of over 25 years he has been retired.

¶ The life of Mayme Bradley Williams, who died recently in California, illustrates the strife in a modern woman's life between a public career and the family. Mrs. Williams was graduated at Wilberforce, took a Civil Service examination in microscopic work, and then before appointment married a lawyer, Mr. Fred Williams, and went to San Francisco. They had hardly started their home before the earthquake and the fire of 1906 swept all away; but they went to work again and when at her death one looks back over Mrs. Wiliams' career, it is astonishing how much she was able to do in and outside her home. She was a leader of the Civic Center, prominent in church work, organizer of a Children's Home, leader in a social club, treasurer of the local N. A. A. C. P., a delegate to the Federation



THE OFFICE

THE LAUNDRY, SERVICE COMPANY

of Colored Women's Clubs and State Chairman of Education in the Federation, a member of the Red Cross Auxiliary, leader of a children's knitting club, and president of an Old Folk's Home. Yet with all this, she made her own beautiful home a center of social life.

¶ A Negro corporation in Atlanta, Ga., the Service Company, is operating a printing business valued at $60,000; a laundry and dry cleaning establishment valued at $65,000, with 47 men and women employees, 5 trucks and 7 wagons; an engineering and construction company, which at the present time is building 150 houses at a cost of from $4,000 to $25,000 each; a realty company, with landscape experts, and a rent and fire insurance department. A plan has been adopted, figured on increased population and based on increased statistics, which will take care of the demand for houses for the next 10 years; a farm aid bureau, with trade experts who instruct farmers in diversified farming, collect, classify and grade different products, and arrange a market and shipment. There is also a pharmacy company, valued at $25,000. The Service Company was organized in 1917 with a capital of $100,000. It now has assets of $994,570, other than its large interest in the Standard Life Insurance Company and the Citizens' Trust Bank. The corporation employs 1,600 people and has as its officers: Messrs. Heman E. Perry, president; H. C. Dugas and W. H. King, vice-presidents; J. C. Arnold, secretary, and J. A. Robinson, treasurer.

¶ Mrs. Carl Diton has presented Hazel Harrison in a recital in Philadelphia. Miss Harrison is recognized by leading Negro musicians as one of the most notable pianists of the race. She was assisted by Viola Hill, coloratura soprano, and Mr. Diton, accompanist. The Philadelphia *Evening Ledger* said it was one of the "most unique programs in the history of Philadelphia music." Miss Harrison's work was considered "remarkable." Miss Hill was said to be a soprano of "more than ordinary accomplishment," and Mr. Diton's accompaniment, "masterful."

¶ The New Jersey Association of Teachers of Colored Children will award at its annual meeting, the second Saturday in May, a prize of $25.00 to the college student in the junior or senior class, who will write the best short story setting forth the charm of colored children. The story must not exceed 3,000 words. It must be submitted to the Principal of the Indiana Avenue School, Atlantic City, N. J., not later than April 1.

¶ Adjoining property, consisting of 4 acres and 6 buildings, has been added to Virginia Union University, in Richmond. This purchase gives to the institution the immediate use of 32,000 square feet of floor space, water power to the extent of 125 horse power, and the possession of a water front on the Appomatox River for a distance of a half-mile. The buildings will be used to house all the trades in connection with the school, together with the agricultural department.

¶ To provide a forum where colored builders and contractors may exchange ideas and experiences, Hampton Institute will hold its first builders' conference on January 29-31. Among the speakers will be

Messrs. D. Knickerbocker Boyd, architect and structural standardist of Philadelphia; J. C. Pearson, chief of the cement section, National Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C., and a director of the American Concrete Institute; and Alexander B. Trowbridge of New York, formerly dean of the Architectural School in Cornell University and now consulting architect to the Federal Reserve Board.

¶ Arrangements have been made for the return to the United States of the remains of Colonel Charles Young, from Nigeria. When the body arrives in America, appropriate services will be held in New York City and in Washington, D. C., prior to burial in Arlington Cemetery. If the body does not arrive too far from March 12, this date—the birthday of Colonel Young—will be suggested for the general observance.

¶ The St. Mark Musical and Literary Union of Boston, Mass., has entered its 21st season. It meets Sunday afternoons at the People's Baptist Church. Subjects to be discussed are "Fraternities," "The Present Crisis of the Labor Movement—Our Attitude," "The Basic Principle in Race Development," and "Applied Psychology and Practical Metaphysics." The president of the club is Mr. Joseph S. Mitchell; Mr. Charles C. Williams is head of publicity; and Mr. Alonzo Lee is musical director.

¶ The CRISIS apologizes to Miss H len M. Chesnutt of Cleveland, Ohio, for a rather stupid mistake in our December issue. The alleged facts came to us through such apparently unimpeachable channels that we did not attempt to confirm them as we should have before publishing.

¶ There were several Negro delegates at the 4th Congress of the Third International of the Communists. Among the speakers was Claude McKay, a Negro poet. The Negro delegates were warmly welcomed and given much social attention.

¶ The Washington Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. has held a testimonial meeting of appreciation for Robert E. Kerlin, the white Virginia Professor who was dismissed because of his protest against the Arkansas Massacre.

¶ The National Negro Board of Trade has been organized in Savannah, Ga., with a branch in Charleston, S. C. Its objects are to promote the interests of its members and increase the facilities of trade and commerce of the city and the state along racial lines. It has five bureaus: commercial, industrial, civic, rural, and traffic and transportation. Mr. John H. Harrell, of Savannah, Ga., is national organizer and president.

¶ The Nebraska Clothing Company, in Omaha, has added a colored man—Mr. Calvin Spriggs—to its staff as a solicitor for the firm at a salary and commission. The Brown Furniture Store in Dayton, Ohio, is employing a colored saleslady—Mrs. Lillian Daniels.

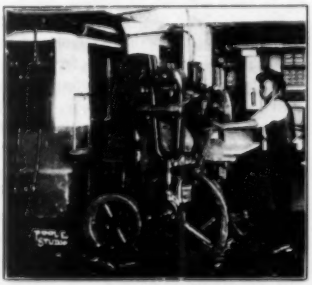
¶ In Virginia, Negroes have 4 fully accredited and 3 partially accredited 4-year high schools and 4 fully accredited private high schools; 2 public high schools and 1 private high school will be added to the accredited list during this year.

¶ In the Federal Court in Pensacola, Fla., recently 3 Negroes served as jurymen, and in Beckley, W. Va., in the Criminal Court there were 4 Negroes on the jury.

¶ Martin Roberts, a clerk in charge of the mail bag depository of the Post Office in Cincinnati, Ohio, has been promoted to foreman with an increase in salary from $1,800 to $2,100. Mr. Roberts has been in the service 23 years.

¶ The *Woman's Press* of New York City, official organ of the Young Women's Christian Association, has among its student editors 2 colored women—the Misses Lucile Stokes and Constance Fisher.

PRINTING BUSINESS, SERVICE COMPANY



A PRESS

The Outer Pocket

New York City.

I WANT to thank you for being "mindful of the great contributions that the West Indies are continually making to colored America." It would indeed be extremely unfortunate if we were made to suffer wholesale through the ignorance of a few misguided West Indians. Many of us are giving our best for the solution of our common problem. We are doing so without Knighthood or noise.

———.

———

Winfield, Ill.

I appreciate the struggle you are making against race prejudice and for the elevation of the Negro. As a rule, you are very moderate in all your statements; but I sometimes wonder if developing a race consciousness may not delay the coming of the brotherhood of man—a brotherhood far enough from being realized in the present unhappy condition of the world but not beyond a possibility of realization if we all work for it.

MARY C. CHROEDER.

———

Dallas, Texas.

Some of us have been reading *The Crisis*. We are very much interested in the welfare of all our American people. A group of white women in Dallas, Texas, are trying to cultivate a spirit of co-operation and helpfulness and understanding. We hope to go on with a Kindergarten Training School for Negro High School girls because we see in that a chance for co-operation and mutual good-will. I have noticed the very fine pictures of your race in the magazine and I have wondered if you could arrange to print them on separate sheets with a description of their worth-whileness and let them be used in schools and clubs.

MRS. E. P. SMITH.

———

New Orleans, Louisiana.

I am ——— ———, formerly of —— County, Alabama, for years a farmer of 200 acres of the state's best land and prospering therefrom with my family, a wife, five boys and three girls. In January 1911 my sister's son, whose name was Henry, was arrested in place of another Henry accused of shooting a sheriff but was not guilty. A reward was put out for his apprehension and so any Negro bearing the name of Henry was liable to seizure and such a fate was my sister's son's. Due to Negro pimps, my innocent sons were beaten. I was lured out of my house one night in ——— township where my holdings were—lured away from my weapons of defence by the white folks, tied with ropes, beaten with the butts of guns, my wife and daughters cursed and grossly insulted. From then on my life and that of my family was threatened and hence I left because of the love of them. I went to ———, Mississippi, where I have since abided.

My property has been confiscated and I feel from what I have heard of the N. A. A. C. P. that your great organization may come to my aid.

——— ———.

———

———, N. Y.

I have just finished reading "Opinion" in the Children's Number of THE CRISIS, and I find that your views express most fully what I have been feeling ever since my marriage, but what I have never put into words. It is a comfort to know that you understand the problem of a mother so completely. I suspect that you could fully sympathize with one who felt the "call of the piano" and the urge of lovely melodies, clamoring to be born, at the same time that dishes were waiting to be washed, beds to be made, clothes to be mended, and meals to be cooked.

But one magic hour in the morning when I read, with a delicious sense of guilt at the knowledge of unwashed breakfast dishes, and an hour or two in the evening to indulge my one great passion—music—make life liveable. And when I see the sturdy bodies and bright eyes of my children, when I realize with an ever-increasing sense of wonder how their minds and characters are developing, when I visit their schools, as I did just the past week, and hear the teachers praise them for their conduct as well as their scholarship, then I realize that, after all, life is worth all the sacrifices that it imposes on parents.

I have always felt that a mother could not be a mother in the truest sense of the word unless she herself had some leisure for growth and self-development. So you can readily see how "Birth" coincided with

my views. And in "Childhood" your picture of the child as an individual to be trained and directed, but not crushed or coerced, is so true!

In fact, your whole editorial touched me very deeply, and I felt that I wanted to write and tell you so.

Troy, N. Y.

Not often do I wish to "talk back" to THE CRISIS, but now two items in the October issue stimulate to that unprofitable duty. "Opinion" is a fine series of thought essays and generally they must do great good. Page 248, however, appears to me to add fuel where there is sufficient fire. There is no need to advocate divorces. Too readily are divorces sought and found. Marriages fail, not for the lack of divorces; nor are the failures remedied by divorces. Bishop Potter wrote in this strain, "It is better to be good than to get a divorce, and easy divorces encourage incorrigibility in badness. As long as it is easier to get a divorce than it is to be good, many persons will prefer getting the divorce." He and those who hold these opinions do not prefer the "quarrelling, unhappy, sordid and compulsory union of man, woman and child"; they want to encourage that correction of character and conduct which will remove the apparent necessity for a divorce.

I could wish that you had said a word to stiffen resolution, to make the married avoid failure.

Birth control, like charity, covers a multitude of sins, which neither science nor sense can expiate. A sinless birth control is, in a multitude of cases, the one thing needful. But do you think that "Motherhood," by Georgia Douglass Johnson, page 265, glorifies that self-denial which is the foundation of sinless birth control? Assuming that it does aim at that, or, at least, at refusing motherhood because of the unfavorable conditions into which the child must be born, will the average reader so interpret it?

The children's number is a success, and affords the opportunity for many needed and helpful lessons, for which I thank you; but those things which I have noted do not add—might have been omitted without loss.

JAMES G. CARLILE.

Awka, Nigeria.

As a West Indian Negro who has spent nearly 18 years in Nigeria, which of all the colonies of the British Empire is surpassed by India only in respect of area, population and natural resources, I wish to say a few words by way of information and advice, through your widely circulated organ, to my Negro brethren of America and the West Indies who may be lured by the "Back to Africa Movement."

So far as I know, there is no tribe in West Africa ready and willing to embrace with outstretched arms, as brothers returning from exile, those who have lost or never learned the mother tongue of that tribe. Everyone, irrespective of color, who can communicate only through an interpreter is regarded as a foreigner by the entire tribe. I know of no West Indian Negro who is regarded by the natives as any other than a foreigner although there are many who speak the language fluently. While everywhere a hearty welcome is offered the foreigners who come to trade or to educate and enlighten, I am confident that any attempt made by them to establish themselves on the land as fellow-owners would be resented by the natives. It is safe to say that it is easier by far for any one, who has the wherewithal to do so, to purchase a thousand acres of land in any part of Europe or America, than with the same or equivalent amount of money to purchase *one* acre of land from any tribe in the interior of any colony in West Africa. Then it must not be forgotten that every square inch of soil in West Africa is under the trusteeship of some European power, and there can be no successful negotiations with the natives without the interference or consent (call it what you like) of the powers that be.

It is a mistake, and a very regrettable one too, for any one born and bred in America or the West Indies to believe that if he could only find himself on Africa's sunny shore, life would become one grand song for him and his loved ones, and that all disturbing elements would flee away. The disturbing elements in the Fatherland are undoubtedly very many, and to him who is unaccustomed to living as his ancestors did, the grave would not be very far off if he found himself in some region of West Africa where the missionary or the trader, under the protection of an enlightened government, had not prepared the way for him.

R. A. LEWELLLYN.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

NOW the New Year awaking Old Desires,
The thoughtful Soul of Solitude retires;
Where the white Hand of Moses from the Bough
Puts forth; and Jesus from the Ground suspires.

Iram indeed is gone with all his rose
And Jamshyd's seven-ringed cup, where no one knows;
But still a ruby kindles in the vine,
And many a garden by the water blows.
—*The Rubaiyat.*

* * *

Julian H. Lewis, M.D., and Deborah L. Henderson, B.S., have made an important study on "The Racial Distribution of Isohemagglutinin Groups." Although technical this discussion is unusually readable and of extreme interest. Its authors point out:

What happens on the intermixture of two races with different distributions of hemagglutinins has not been studied. Anthropologists, with their more established methods, are able to detect the derivation of races by isolating in them the characteristics which are known to belong to pure races. It might also be possible to determine the components of a given race from the study of the distribution of the hemagglutinin groups. As a prerequisite, one would desire to examine a mixed race, of which the constituents, as well as the distribution of hemagglutinins among these constituents, are known. Such an opportunity presents itself in America, where there has been a widespread intermixture of Negroes and Caucasians, both of whose biochemical indexes are known. The amount of such inter mixture is difficult to estimate, but it is unusual to find an individual of African descent who does not show, or give a history of, intermixture with the Caucasian race.

* * *

We have received the "Congo Missionary Conference," a report of the eighth Congo General Conference of Protestant Missionaries, held at Bolenge in the Equatorial District of the Belgian Congo, October 29-November 7, 1921. The Rev. R. D. Bedinger says of the worth of the Congo native to the colony and to the church:

Viewed from the standpoint of revenue, or finance, the Congo native in his present stage of development is worth very little to State or to Church. But viewed in his relationship to the undeveloped resources of his great country he is a most valuable asset. Without the native the Colony could not exist. . . . The Congo is pre-eminently the home of the black race. . . . We do not believe that Central Africa will ever become a permanent abiding place for the white races. Therefore, whatever may be the future of the Colony, and we believe it has a great future; whatever prosperity may come to it, and through it to the world at large; whatever contributions to science, medicine, education, religion; all will result primarily because of the services rendered by the natives. Great as has been these services in the past, great as they are in the present, they will unquestionably find their fullest expression in the future.

Thus far the greatest contribution the native has made to the Colony and to the Church is physical. In the one word "labor" we may sum up his greatest activities. He is the beast of burden, the chief means of transportation even today. Although the railroads and steamers have come, these have but little lessened his importance as a porter, for all products must be borne to the rivers and railway lines on the heads and shoulders of the natives. The service of the native rendered in the early years, transporting State officials, traders, and missionaries, with their supplies, between Matadi and Stanley Pool, should never be forgotten. The building of the Lower Congo Railway is a monument to native labor no less than to daring Belgian enterprise. It has been said that each telegraph post along the line represents a native life laid down. What a contribution that was!

THE SHAME OF A NATION

THE manner of the defeat of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill emphasizes the fact that the machinery of the United States Senate is antiquated to the point that millions of people may suffer injustice and death on account of it. But the Senate, caring nothing for this, goes on gaily with its game of tit for tat. The New York *Times* says of the filibuster:

Never before has the Senate so openly advertised the impotence to which it is reduced by its antiquated rules of procedure. Advantage of them has often been taken in order to delay a vote, or to insist upon forcing some obnoxious amendment of a pending bill, or to talk out at the end of the session a measure to which some little group of Senators were opposed. The novelty at present is that at the very beginning of the session the minority notified the majority that it must not take up a bill which stood first on the Administration program. And after a few days of vain protest and struggling, the majority abjectly surrenders. Seldom can the leader of a proud party have had to make so mortifying a confession as that of Mr. Lodge.

It is doubtless true that the Republicans in the Senate were not sincerely and wholeheartedly in favor of the Anti-Lynching Bill. Some of them would have had no stomach for a long fight on that issue. It was open to suspicion as a measure introduced mainly for partisan effect and election purposes. Yet there was no doubt that it was earnestly favored by the President. It had been formally endorsed by the official organization of the Republican Party in the Senate. It stood at the head of the Administration order of business. But it had to be ignominiously withdrawn.

* * *

Evidently there is no relief in sight:

Senator Lodge declared that the surrender had been decided upon with great "reluctance," but that it had been made necessary by the fact that the Senate rules permit an indefinite filibuster. To attempt to change those rules at this time would only provoke an even more formidable and insurmountable filibuster. So the Senate majority wrings its hands helplessly and quits the field.

* * *

That Senator Underwood's insolent pronouncement should go unchallenged is an index of the supineness exhibited by the Republican Party. According to the New York *Evening Globe* this was the Southern leader's explanation of the filibuster:

"It must be apparent to the Senate as well as to the country that this effort is to defeat a certain bill, namely the so-called Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. . . . I now inform you that this Bill is not going to become a law at this session of Congress. You are not going to get an agreement to vote on this bill. . . . You are going to transact no more business until this matter is settled. There will be no confirmation, no business of any kind. . . . We on this side of the chamber take the responsibility. The responsibility is ours, not yours. . . I have nothing more to say."

* * *

Even this could have been overcome if the party Republicans had been really in earnest. The *Globe* concludes:

The fact must be that Underwood has been permitted to swagger about because the Senate majority has no real interest in the anti-lynching measure, even though it is nominally an administration bill. Certainly it is inconceivable that the Senate would tolerate such language on a matter which the majority regarded as important. The tariff, which was certainly evil enough, could not be stopped by a filibuster.

It is difficult, accordingly, to get rid of the suspicion that the braggadoccio adopted by Senator Underwood is merely a mode of concealing the lukewarmness of the support given the Dyer Bill by the majority. Whether or not that be true, the challenge uttered by the Southern leader ought to be taken up. It brings majority government into contempt and so strikes at the vitals of the nation.

THE NEGRO MOVES

THE Santa Fé *New Mexican* remarks that the center of Negro population is shifting:

It is located in latitude 34° 46′ 52″, and longitude 85° 30′ 48″, being in the extreme northwestern corner of Georgia, in Dade County, about 1¼ miles north—northeast of Rising Fawn town, and that for the first time in the history of the country this center has moved northeast, being approximately 9.4 miles farther east and 19.4 miles farther north in 1920 than it was in 1910. Its former movements have all been in a southwesterly direction. In 1790 it was located 25 miles west—southwest of Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and one hundred years later, in 1890, it had moved southwest 463 miles to a point 15.7 miles southwest of Lafayette, Walker County, Georgia, the same county in which it was located in 1880. Between 1890 and 1900 it crossed the State line into Alabama, its location in 1900, and again in 1910 being in DeKalb County, Alabama. Its northeastward movement after 1910 has brought it back to the State of Georgia.

The northeasterly movement of the center of Negro population between 1910 and 1920 is due principally to the great increase in the Negro population of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. The total increase in the Negro population of the United States was 635,363 and it will be noted that the increase in the Northern States mentioned was 56 per cent of the total increase.

* * *

These census figures were gathered early in 1920, so the N. Y. Johnstown *Herald* thinks it likely that many Negroes have returned South. On the other hand the New York *Times* declares:

Another migration of Negroes from the South to the industrial cities of the North is believed to be under way. During the last few weeks many Negroes from Georgia and Alabama have gone to work in Youngstown and Pittsburgh steel mills, according to advices received here, while hundreds have obtained employment in Cleveland.

According to William R. Connors, Executive Secretary of the Negro Welfare Association, 1,387 colored men from outside the city have registered for employment during the last four months. Some of these, he said, returned to their old homes during the recent depression, but most of them had left the South for the first time.

"They are leaving Atlanta for the North by the carload," Connors said.

Between 500 and 1,000 obtained employment at the Carnegie Steel Company at

Youngstown and a smaller number at the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company, advices state. Hundreds have gone into the Connellsville coke field since the middle of summer.

* * *

This shifting creates new problems. The Columbus, Ohio, *State Journal* quotes Professor Edward Mimms, of Vanderbilt University:

"The race problem is no longer a Southern problem. The invasion of northern cities by the Southern Negro has ended that.

"The situation must be faced as it is. If the Negro stays down he is a burden, not only upon the South, but upon the nation. If he grows in wealth, education and in racial welfare generally will there be increasing friction between the races?

"This is a problem that the all or nothing citizen cannot solve. We must get away from theory and deal with facts."

* * *

A world-wide problem in this connection hinges on the displacement of Negroes throughout the world caused by the exigencies of the Great War. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart says in the Boston *Globe*:

"By employing Negro troops from Africa in increasing numbers in future wars, the balance of power, and the future of Europe, may yet rest with the power that can put the largest number of Negro troops into the field.

"Let Europeans see that the African Negroes have an opportunity to acquire civilization; let them have the genuine opportunity to do what is in their power to do that they may not become a menace to civilization.

"The first problem is of the Negro in Africa, the homeland, a land richly endowed with a wonderful wealth of natural resources—a land where men outside of the colored race may dwell in security. Of the great states of their country, Abyssina is in chaos; Egypt just coming into control, and Liberia—to be considered a child of the United States.

"For some time Africa has had missionaries both Catholic and Protestant. Moslem missionaries are making great inroads into Central Africa—the Crescent is going as far as the Cross—and we have a great problem to face.

"Africa's problem is a problem for the world."

* * *

The Accra (Africa) *Gold Coast Independent* substantiates this:

The Mohammedan celebration of the Dulheggia Festival was held on the 5th instant with all the joyous pomp and parade of multicolored garments, medley of noises, and firing of guns.

The growth of Mohammedanism in our midst was remarked by many of the Christian spectators who witnessed the great crowd which followed the symbols of the Caliphate. The orientation of the system of civilization of our people is becoming unmistakably more and more pronounced each year. Most thoughtful Africans are looking to the Occident for inspiration and guidance in their religious beliefs; but a despotic missionary rule may do all the harm possible.

MUSICAL PIONEERS

THE special exhibit held recently in Boston of the work of Negro Musicians stimulates the New Orleans *Picayune* to an account of other important but less widely-known musicians:

The interest in such a collection of musical and biographical material at the present time does not focus upon such men as Burleigh and Coleridge Taylor, Negroes whose compositions are well able to hold prominence without reference to the race of their authors, but upon other and older composers who worked under a greater disadvantage.

In that elder group stands prominently, and almost alone of his people as a composer of piano music in the early nineteenth century, Basile Barres, a Louisiana Negro who received a musical education in Paris. Barres' work had a considerable vogue in its day and showed a strong racial character that was much appreciated by the French critics. Unless we err, Mr. William Beer, librarian of the Howard Library, has among his collections of early Louisiana music examples of Barres' publications.

Another Negro musician from our section of the country represented at the Boston Library exhibition—this one not a composer but an executant—is Edmunde Dede, a violinist of parts who together with a Cuban "man of color," Brindis de Sala, was merely the best among a number of Negroes who advanced past banjo and guitar to the most difficult and artistic of stringed instruments.

* * *

Here are some interesting facts:

From other parts of the South came George Melburn, author of "Listen to the Mocking Bird," and James Bland, whose "Carry Me Back to Ole Virginny" is equally classic of the South's Negro melodies.

Perhaps the most observed document in the Boston exhibition is a facsimile—unfortunately America does not possess the original—of a letter written by Beethoven to George Augustus Polgreen Bridgetower, a mulatto violinist for whom Beethoven composed the Kreutzer Sonata. Bridgetower was one of the most talented performers of his day and was so recognized throughout Europe. Nevertheless, the musician could not avoid certain exaggerated

mannerisms that militated against him, drew smiles from his audience and won for him the sobriquet "The Abyssinian Prince." He was European born.

AND NOW SIKI

EUROPE is "out for" the Senegalese boxer. The New York *Times* informs us:

The Home Office [British] today forbade the fight between Battling Siki, the Senegalese, who is European heavyweight champion, and Joe Beckett which was scheduled for December 7 at Albert Hall. Its decision is based on the fact that the Senegalese is a colored man. The Home Secretary took similar action in 1911 when the fight between Johnson and Wells was banned.

The Siki-Beckett contest will not be allowed to take place at any spot in the British Isles. The Home Office made it clear, however, that there is no desire to interfere with boxing contests in general.

"The introduction of the color element," said the official, "raises questions of great international importance, which are especially grave in view of the large number of men of color within the British Empire. All sorts of passions are aroused, which it is not advisable to excite, and, moreover, the temperaments of boxers of different colors are not comparable." . . .

Other fight promoters point out that the Home Office has not always acted on the precedent of the proposed Wells-Johnson fight in 1911, which was stopped by law. Since then many contests between blacks and whites have taken place in this country, one of them being held a few nights ago.

* * *

The Manchester *Guardian* takes high ground:

The point at issue is whether or not the tone of the white man's nervous system is too high to enable him to fight successfully against the colored man. European civilization has been built up by abandoning muscular for brain power. Europeans in consequence have lost something of the perfect physical co-ordination which distinguishes many other races. Body and mind do not strike together; rather the body follows the mind. So long as a white boxer has play for his 'science' he is a match for any antagonist. But should it come to 'sheer fighting' the colored man is his superior. For his instinct is surer and swifter and his muscles belong to his instinct rather than to his reason.

* * *

To which the Des Moines (Ia.) *Register* shrewdly replies:

This notion that civilization works for physical deterioration, that mental alertness is accompanied with a falling off of physical power is common enough, stimulated no doubt by the fact that it is frequently the sickly one who goes to college. But what substance can it have in the large when we see that the most highly cultivated races endured the hardships of the war as well if not better than the less cultivated? It was not the boys of the school and college who shrank from the adventure.

But that aside, we must not forget that in the case of Jack Johnson it was his skill and not his fighting instinct nor his hard blows that made him champion. Johnson outboxed and outgeneralled, which tends to discredit this English theory of fighting instinct in the colored man, and high tone of nervous organization in the white.

* * *

Even France forsakes the champion. Says the Paris *Daily Mail*:

This morning the French Boxing Federation, after a night sitting, suspended Siki for nine months and took away his title of light heavy-weight champion of France as a sequel to an incident on Wednesday evening at the Balzac-Prunier fight in Paris, when Siki, who was Balzac's second, endeavored to assault Prunier's manager when Balzac was counted out.

* * *

This seems to justify Dr. Du Bois' prediction in the CRISIS:

"We have a feeling, a sort of dim premonition, that boxing is going to become immoral again. You know that before the war it fell from its high estate because Jack Johnson did not have the grace to be whipped by Jim Jefferies."

* * *

The *Echo Des Sports* says virtuously:

"A world's champion must respect himself, and when he is before the public he must know how to behave, and that is where Georges Carpentier never failed."

* * *

This high-mindedness of the former champion hardly seems to fit in with his willingness to take part in a "frame-up" but probably French ideas of *"le sport"* differ from ours. M. Hellers, Siki's manager, according to the Paris *Daily Mail*, is very much peeved at the ruling of the British Home Office:

He states that Siki himself does not appear to mind very much, and that, in fact, the title of world's champion seems to bother Siki more than anything else. When he was told that he would probably be suspended for his conduct at the Prunier-Balzac fight all he said was that he would give up boxing and join the army.

"I do not know what made me forget myself the other night," the boxer stated. "I am tired of being a world's champion

because it interferes too much with liberty. I would prefer to abandon all my titles and be left in peace."

ONE OF OURS?

A DISPATCH to the London *Exchange Telegraph* from Cairo mentioning the chambers which the Egyptological excavators recently found on the site of ancient Thebes, near Luxor, opens up a significant speculation. One of these chambers is believed to be the tomb of King Tutenkhamen, a heretic king of the 18th dynasty who reigned about the year 1350 B.C. The New York *Times* says:

In the royal necropolis of the Theban Empire, directly below the tomb of Remese VI, a chamber was discovered which contained Tutank Hamen's gem-studded throne. This is described as one of the most beautiful art objects ever found. Moreover, the explorers came upon exquisite carved gilt couches inlaid with ivory, other furniture, a quantity of royal robes, some of them richly decorated; life-size statues and vases of the most intricate design, and the remains of large quantities of victuals for the dead.

* * *

Now Tutenkhamen claimed Amenhotep III as his father.

And Amenhotep III is shown by Dr. Alexander Francis Chamberlain, of Clark University, to have had a strain of Negro blood. We read in his "Contribution of the Negro to Human Civilization":

The contributions of the Negro to human civilization are innumerable and immemorial. Let us first get some glimpses of him, chiefly as an individual, in contact with the host of other cultures than his own. Ancient Egypt knew him, both bond and free, and his blood flowed in the veins of not a few of the mighty Pharaohs. Nefertari, the famous Queen of Aahmes, the King of Egypt, who drove the Hyksos from the land and founded the 18th Dynasty, (ca. 1700 B.C.), was a Negress of great beauty, strong personality and remarkable administrative ability. She was for years associated in the government with her son, Amenhotep I, who succeeded his father. Queen Nefertari was highly venerated and many monuments were erected in her honor; she was venerated as "ancestress and founder of the 18th Dynasty" and styled "the wife of the god Ammon," etc. Another strain of Negro blood came into the line of the Pharaohs with Mut-em-ua, wife of Thothemes IV, whose son, Amenhotep III, had a Negroid physiognomy.

NOT WANTED

THE prophet is as usual dishonored in his own country. The New Orleans *States* wants nothing of the Ku Klux Klan for Louisiana. We read:

When a vital issue is posed before the people of a State there develops on inescapable line of cleavage. Courageous men and women must meet it. They cannot take the middle of the road. They must stand on one side or the other.

Deeply as we regret it, we are to have in next year's gubernatorial campaign in Louisiana such an issue. *To speak plainly, it is whether or not organized government shall be supreme or we shall have super-government, through the Ku Klux Klan, which would arrogate to itself the right to administer justice, according to its own views and without court or jury, and ostracize and penalize certain religious and racial elements.*

With such an issue men and women must elect whether they are to serve under one king or another. Under which, Bezonian? *Those who are not for us are against us.* . . .

There never was a greater issue presented to the people of Louisiana, indeed a more regrettable issue, than that of whether or not orderly government is to be superseded by rule of the Klan—whether or not we are to maintain this republic as a refuge of the oppressed, whether or not we are to set up religious and racial intolerance in place of the freedom of religious thought and worship which formed a cornerstone of our constitutional structure.

ALAS FOR LIBERIA

THE Pittsburgh *Chronicle Telegram* writes:

Twelve years ago the United States took control of the collection of customs in Liberia. England and France were maneuvering for dominance in the Negro republic, but yielded to America as an impartial government that was not seeking anything for itself. In 1917, owing to the war, conditions became so distressing in Liberia that the United States Treasury opened a credit of $5,000,000. Of this sum only $26,000 was used. In order to put Liberian finances upon a sound basis, the present administration proposed to lend Liberia $5,000,000. The proposal was non-partisan and in strict accordance with the policy of the preceding administration. Yet the Democrats have voted solidly to recommit the bill to the Finance Committee and thirteen Republicans have joined them. This combination has left the supporters of the loan in a minority, and the result is that Liberia is left to suffer. This is our treatment of a country which we have insisted should be entrusted to our care. One of the fairest pages in our history has been the record of our dealings with Liberia. To mar it now is an especially disgraceful performance.

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